1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or four years, after which bathing was less formal since the children were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke.

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

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fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraordinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age, trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

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would be multiple copulation in public, the women taking pride in the number of men they could satisfy before tiring. One nice old woman boasted that she had once taken on the entire crew of a whaleboat and had been able to leave them all happy. Under such circumstances, however, the woman rarely had more than one orgasm. 833

In addition to these public affairs, there were, of course, many private ones. These involved even more elaborate forms of sexual play, with the woman definitely dominant, and the man playing up to her erotic wishes. His role was to excite the woman by sucking her breasts and cunnilingus until she was excited to a high pitch and gave the signal for intercourse. These erotic preliminaries were quite devoid of tenderness, and often involved scratching and biting on both sides. The sexual play was apparently of greater importance than the actual orgiastic experience. 836 833

All Marquesans were sexually potent, but the potency of the woman was dependent upon these elaborate preliminaries, without which it was impossible for her to have an orgasm, a trait not uncommon in primitive societies and due perhaps to early conditioning in prolonged inorgiastic play. I never heard of a case of impotence among males, nor were there any stories of malevolent magic being used to produce loss of potency, although magic was used against men in other connections. The absence of this belief is fairly accurate proof that the phenomenon of impotence was unknown. 833

The natives never revealed the identity of their partners when discussing their love affairs. A man once told me of an experience he had had with a woman who was so slow in reaching the pitch of excitement necessary for intercourse that he had broken away and refused to continue. The woman thereupon attacked him savagely, biting and clawing; it was to explain his honorable scars that he told me the story. He seemed to consider that the joke was on the woman, but refused to tell her name.

I heard of no cases of female homosexuality, which would 838

/11 cont./ take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks. 844 [178]

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of leaves of ka ka 'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This preparation is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a large number of astringents for a variety of purposes. 846 757 [824] [824]

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the husband and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are positively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom, still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the 1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not completely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again, as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or so after birth. 846 757 178 [833] [842]

The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste (ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it. This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [826] [757]

/28 cont./ 304

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all placed without missionary knowledge. [831] [797]

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so. 836 881 884

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation. 152 861 [123]

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their 836

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly [illegible]
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/32 cont./ 826 832 757

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/34/

After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-puberta1 boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/40 cont./ 832 883
described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as [212] handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl 836 in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for 831 a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood 833 begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some [832] massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- (What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!" Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act.

/43/The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Hakate'a literally means: "make

/43 cont./ 192 833
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage, especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect-evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocutions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe (rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm. [602] [609] [177] [797]

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply increased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tendencies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks. 833

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Intercourse usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscuous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous 836 833 836 [648]

/45 cont./
girls to eliminate the potential threat that they pose to any previously established unions and marriages. 836 648

Assigning white males to promiscuous girls is often a means of expressing antagonism against the whites. the implications being that only the girls that no one really wants are good enough for the whites. Often a girl on the way to an assignation with a European will have intercourse with a number of native males first; or will leave her lover momentarily ostensibly to wash, and meet native males surreptitiously. This is regarded as a rather appropriate trick to play on the unsuspecting European, for it is believed to reduce the sexual potential of the girl. [832]

If Europeans show signs of establishing permanent or semipermanent residence, or if they have great wealth or position, however, gradually the resistance against their presence falls away, and they can establish a relationship with one of the non-promiscuous girls. In these cases, the economic benefits derived from being a ward of a European far outweigh the disruptive influence that such a person might wield on native social relations. 836 648 182

The promiscuous girl provides a sort of protection for the other women of the community against disruptive influences from the outside, acting as a shock-absorber against the sexual aggression of strangers. There are certain exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed at more length below, involving the use of sexual favors for marked economic gain.

/46/ Through these contacts with an older age-group of the same culture and completely alien groups, which possess different patterns of sexual behavior, the promiscuous girl acquires a somewhat different pattern of sexual behavior. As will be discussed below, the mature adult pattern of sexual behavior is characterized by an increased amount of erotic foreplay, oral stimulation, variety in intercourse positions and prolongation of the sexual act, to mention a few major points. The promiscuous girls are exposed to this pattern and learn to meet its requirements. In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836 648 [833] ooo

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include young unmarried males, the older males who are married and strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/47 cont./
sexual play with the girl, caressing or kissing her breasts, while she is having intercourse with another. Intercourse is quite rapid, and sometimes accompanied by rhythmical muffled cries by the girl. After intercourse, the girl usually wipes her vulva with a piece of her ka'e'u, wrap-around skirt, and immediately receives the next male. A thorough washing of the genitalia is performed only after all the males have been served to their satisfaction. The usual post-orgasm wash for the girl /48/ is abandoned because it is believed that the repeated washing, by suppressing all vaginal lubricatory fluids, will cause extreme discomfort to both parties. Serial intercourse is quite common, apparently not greatly diminishing in frequency since contact times. Numerous occurrences were reported during our stay, usually involving 5 or 6 males. One outstanding example, still the talk of Nuku Hiva, is the case of a girl who served in a few hours the complete roster of two football squads, numbering 40 men, in Taiohae during a gathering for the archipelago soccer play-offs. This was believed by all to be an extreme case; even the girl herself acknowledged that she had overstepped her abilities, suffering a pelvic injury as a result.

833 ● 836

[178]

Individual intercourse among the promiscuous girls resembles that practiced among older married adults, as has been noted above. There is an air of relaxation about a relationship of this type, as the fear of apprehension by an outraged parent is eliminated and therefore the need for quick completion of the act is eliminated. Most often these meetings occur in the houses or shelters maintained by one of the group of girls, or in any of a number of unoccupied houses found throughout the valleys. There is an increase in foreplay and complete nudity by both parties is usual. There is an effort on the girl's part to present a pleasing appearance in the nude. If clothing is used by the girl, it is generally a ka'eu wrap-around to cover the pelvis, and is only used when going to wash or urinate.

/49/ There is generally complete permissiveness about oral stimulation of the genitalia, extending to stimulation

/49 cont./
to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832]
comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521]
images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tute hakaiki --

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/65 cont./ 192

haka ka'aka -- "in the gecko-manner" (haka na'ana = Hiva Oa dialect). 585 833

2. patu hope - "stick the buttocks" - female kneels or bends over, and introduction of the penis is made from behind. Also known as titoi ihoraue - horse intercourse - or titoi peto - dog intercourse.
3. haka noho - "sitting style" - in which the female sits astride the male's lap, facing him.
4. haka pe'e - Male is supine, female sits astride.
5. titoi puta keo - coitus in ano.
6. titoi - normal ventral-ventral position.

In addition to these terms, indicating specific positions, there are a large number of synonyms used to refer to the sex act itself. Many are used in "polite" company, others used among males as a sort of quasi-secret slang, others are simply slang, near the level of our Anglo-Saxon four-letter words. 192 195 585 833

Polite synonyms:

ke'u	play
piki	mount
hano	get
hana hau	
hau	bad act or work
hana he'o	hard act or work

/66/

hana animara	animal act (contact
mo'e	sleep

Male Slang:

soana	(Samoan = to sit ?)
tiko	a recent Marquesan innovation
te kio'e'i te 'ua ma	the rat in the ma pit

More Commonly Used Slang:

ve'o	stab or impale
titoi	copulate
heko	copulate or rut

The last terms listed are those most commonly used among members of one sex, but seldom used before members

/66 cont./ 585 833 [192] [195]
of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization.

159 833 837 [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above.

833 868 [832]

/67 cont./ 833●

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not.

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts. 837 [835]

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation. [833]

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural. 838

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females. 839

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between 837 521

/70 cont./
lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually 837
results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive [833] ●
a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This practice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy, and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations for a time.

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by 833 887
individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced frequency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well as engaging in sexual relations with their mates.

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their attentions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to in- 521 522
dulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a 831
range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature understood by only one or a few of the onlookers, to what in our society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour. Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a sexual topic.

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have been discussed previously, referring to the male and female genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle expressions and figures of speech are used; and often the conversation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

/74 cont./ 186 515 648 [154]
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the most common are: 164 192 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along the shore. [136]

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful. 149 578 [833] [763]

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabulary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 192 602 831

/93 cont./
observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, the behavior may actually be a local development. It is doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to

/99 cont./ 175 648 864
heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period appears to require some qualification, in view of the context in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14. [183] 833 881 178 834

A great deal has been written about the existence of adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from 114 883 571

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains a considerable amount of information on general and special

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571
skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth. it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and [114]
Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and [648]
goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] [304]
being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 834 182
followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other [171]
areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 178
some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] [342]
occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 831 178
produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/104 cont./
not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numerous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture in general) which appear to have been of European introduction. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly Western type kissing in general, and a large number of idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with particular individuals. However, these last are relatively superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of behavioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus, there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allowing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch (Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimulation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held effective power over the male contingent by the distribution of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/106 cont./ 462
tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923).

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/

[338] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women vis a vis men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources.

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One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/107 cont./ 114 562 833 [177]
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present. [864]

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching (nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades. 833 [115] [836] [837] [554]

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 182 838

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which